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261 251 421 768 dying out, more distant relatives are told about the cache, and the secret spreads out in this way, so the stores will be of use to those who need them and will not go to waste.

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241 177 184 No attempt was made to cultivate crops until very recent times. One, and perhaps two, of the three major subdivisions or bands raised no crops at all until the modern reservation period. The oldest Southern Chiricahua informant stated categorically: "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them [by nature] and did not have to farm. They moved around too much also." The Central Chiricahua were little more inclined toward agriculture. One of them observed, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the whites." In 1873, shortly after the establishment of a reserve for the control of the Central and Southern Chiricahua, the first agent reported:

> In regard to the future prospects for farming operations by these Indians, I would state that I have conversed with Cochise and many of his head-men upon this subject repeatedly, and I am of the opinion that it will require some little time to bring them into the traces and make them submit to this exaction, which must eventually be required of them. They have never been an agricultural people, and claim that they do not know how to farm.[10]

But it is possible that the example of neighboring peoples who cultivated the land may have led to experiments on the part of individual families, as this statement of a Central Chiricahua suggests: "Even in Old Mexico, the Chiricahua tried to farm a little."

[648] [439] [175] [648] The Eastern Chiricahua, who seem to have had earlier friendly relations and trade contacts with the Spanish-speaking townspeople, began to farm even before the modern reservations were established. By 1869, according to government reports, the leaders of this band were complaining that they were being driven from lands where they used to plant.[11] Testimony from informants corroborates these old reports: "These Eastern Chiricahua Indians farmed before the whites came. They tell about

[10] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1869.

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the big ditches they used at Hot Springs." "We've had corn as long as I can remember." "The Eastern Chiricahua planted corn even in the old times." "All the groups of Eastern Chiricahua planted." Maize was undoubtedly the first vegetable raised. "When I was young," recalled a very old man, "we never had any cultivated vegetables except corn. Later others came from Old Mexico."

The influence of the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south in the impetus toward agricultural pursuits is admitted:

> The Eastern Chiricahua raised corn, pumpkins, potatoes, onions, chili, and watermelons. We had a good deal of contact with Spanish towns. We learned to speak Spanish, and the Spanish people showed us how to raise these things. We got the seeds from the Mexicans too. We got big hoes from them or traded them from the whites.

The Eastern band made good use of the intervals of peace:

> If a Chiricahua had a Mexican friend, he would get corn as a gift, and the Indian might give a horse or something else to the Mexican. We planted at Hot Springs as well as in Mexico. We received corn up here, as well as in Mexico, from the Mexicans living around. The Indians used to be good friends with the Mexicans often. When I was small I used to play with Mexican children. They gave me the name the white people call me by now.

The techniques of cultivation in use among the Eastern Chiricahua are described by an informant:

> We planted corn, cantaloupes, and watermelons. No squash or pumpkins were planted at first. Some Chiricahua never had pumpkins or squash until 1885 or 1886, except what they could get from other peoples.
>
> We used irrigation. We dug trenches from a stream to the farm and stopped these irrigation ditches with dirt when we wanted to block them. When the corn was big enough to hoe, we went out in the woods and made a hoe of bent root. Later we had hoes from the Mexicans. To make the holes for the seeds, we used just a pointed stick. The men worked in the fields; the women worked in the fields too, but mostly men did it.

Although this informant feels that agriculture is a legitimate activity for men, another disagrees, saying: "Planting was considered a woman's job. That is the way I feel. At Fort Sill men had to do it." "Men, women, and boys assisted," according to a third spokesman. Evidently, the division of labor in agricultural work was not clear cut.

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Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[19] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants—each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[19] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

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There was a late introduction of agriculture which will be described presently, but its influence always remained slight. The Apache's efforts were not directed toward improving upon nature's offerings, but rather upon utilizing the largest number of natural goods, and using each one to the best advantage.

The utilization of plants for food, drinks, and narcotics was but one facet of this process, of course. In succeeding bulletins we expect to give some indication of the degree to which wild plants were used for medicines and for the making of tools, weapons, and artifacts in general. Every tree and bush had been tested for its qualities in all cultural contexts. Any Chiricahua or Mescalero above middle age will tell you that mulberry wood made the finest bow and that locust runs it a close second for this purpose. The wood of the chokecherry bush was the universal favorite among these Apache for arrows. Oak was considered the most durable for the outer rim of the cradle-board. The Apache took pride in matching his materials to the purpose at hand.

But to appreciate the total round of Apache life and thinking, and to comprehend the significance of many features of the culture, our understanding of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings must penetrate even further. That relation does not halt with a minute scrutiny of the environment and the practical applications which flow therefrom. It involves the Apache's world conception and his total relationship to nature.

The Apache, however arrogant may have been his relations with his fellowmen, was entirely cognizant of his abjectness and dependence before natural forces. He relied upon nature's bounty and suffered when drought or inclement weather curtailed it. He never lacked for vigorous enemies. He was ever a prey to frightening sicknesses. In the battle of wits between him and the wild game he stalked he was many times out-distanced. Whatever hazards he surmounted, there were always old age and death to strike him down at last. In the words of his own prayers, before the forces of nature he was "a poor fellow," and "a pitiable object."

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through the camps. Any woman who has no one to provide for her may approach him at this time and help herself to what he has without protest from him. Often, in times of scarcity, an Apache hunter would reach his own dwelling with little to show for his efforts.

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It is doubtful whether the Apache practiced what could really be called agriculture until very recently. As a matter of fact they raised so little maize and expended so little care upon it that the practice, in aboriginal times, did not interfere with their nomadic life. They obtained maize from the Pueblos and the Mexicans, planted some in sheltered canyons, returned once or twice to pull the worst of the weeds, even did a little irrigating if the land were exceptionally dry and water could be easily diverted to it, and then came back when they thought the crop would be ready to harvest.

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One of the oldest of the Chiricahua told the writer, "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them and did not have to practice it. They move around so much too." Another Chiricahua man testified, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the Whites." Still another member of the tribe spoke of planting as a trait that had been "picked up" long ago in Mexico. Most of the informants seem to realize that what agriculture they practiced came to them from the outside, and many of those who state that it was carried on in the "old days" interpret that to mean no more than the lifetime of their parents or grandparents.

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Just when these Apache began to plant is difficult to estimate. At any rate it is certain that the agricultural efforts of the Apache were at first far from elaborate. They have been described by an old Mescalero as follows: "Only two or three families out of a hundred would farm. That's in the earliest time I can remember. We got the corn seed from raiding settlers and Mexicans. This was before gov-

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243 [648] [177] [412] ernment control. In those days the settlers planted corn far from the houses. It was easy to get, and we got it from the south (Mexico) mostly. We had just a digging stick—no hoe. With this we made holes and planted the corn shallowly, about four or five seeds to one hole. Pulling the weeds was about all the care we gave it. We might be traveling around but we came back to it at the time we knew it would be ready to harvest. My people used no irrigation then. This went on before my time, when my father was a boy too, and before his father's time. The Mescalero planted around Tularosa, New Mexico, and La Luz at that time."

The same informant told how wheat seed, obtained from Mexico during raids or from the early settlers, was planted in sandy loam, harvested by beating it with a stick, and made into bread.

241 177 [439] [412] Later, in the early 1870's, when the Warm Springs Apache were given a separate reservation near Hot Springs, they turned more to agriculture and considerably refined these haphazard methods. Under the influence of neighboring Mexican towns with which they carried on trade, they began to use hoes shaped out of the bent root of a tree, and later obtained hoes of Mexican manufacture. Watermelons and cantaloupes were raised as well as corn, and later beans, pumpkins, potatoes, chile, and squash. Irrigation was now regularly adopted, trenches being dug from the water supply to the field, and stopped up with earth when the land was sufficiently watered. Maize kernels and beans, to be used for seed, were sometimes soaked all night in water to make them sprout faster and then dropped two or three in a hole. Pumpkin and watermelon seeds were often soaked like this before planting too. When the seeds were soaked beforehand they were not planted so deeply as when they were planted dry.

241 [462] Agriculture never became important enough for the Apache to consider it one of the manly arts. Both sexes took part in the task of planting, but the weeding, harvesting, and preparation were left almost entirely to the women. Agriculture has never exerted influence enough to figure

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Agriculture has never exerted influence enough to figure in Chiricahua or Mescalero Apache ritual, belief or myth except in one instance, where there is an association between the growing crop and the cricket. Crickets are placed around the field and prayers are addressed to them to help the crops grow. The Mescalero put a live cricket with the seed to be planted and take care not to kill a cricket lest their crops be reduced.

Informants reported that their maize was blue and red mixed and that they never had either pure yellow or pure blue varieties. Samples of maize grown at present on the Mescalero reservation are mixed blue and white. Also in an old parfleche purchased from a Mescalero Indian were found dried maize kernels which were represented by informants as the type grown formerly by the Mescalero. Mr. Volney Jones, of the Ethnobiological Laboratory of the University of Michigan, reporting by correspondence upon these grains said: "It is of a type which is grown by some of the Pueblo Indians but is very much smaller. The type is intermediate between flint and dent, having the flinty or hard consistency of flint corn but the grain shape of dent corn with only a slight tendency to dent."

Maize was usually cooked like mescal, in an underground oven, by the Mescalero. Wood was first burned to hot ashes in the pit, then the whole ears were sprinkled with water and thrown in. They were next covered with grass and dirt and cooked over night, after which they were removed and stored, husk and all, and did not mould. When desired for a meal the ears were boiled and were said to taste like fresh maize.

Another method of preparation was to roast the ears as described above, cut off the grains, and dry them, and store them in sacks until ready for use. The Chiricahua informants claimed that they did not roast maize in underground ovens although they saw the Navahos do it.

Maize was also dried on the cob. All except two husks were removed. Then it was dried in the sun by tying these two husks together and hanging the ears up on strings or on trees.